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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE THOUSAND TWO HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-SEVENTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Tuesday, 5 October 1993, at 3 p.m.

President:	Mr. Sardenberg	(Brazil)
Members:	Cape Verde	Mr. BARBOSA
	China	Mr. LI Zhaoxing
	Djibouti	Mr. OLHAYE
	France	Mr. MERIMEE
	Hungary	Mr. ERDÖS
	Japan	Mr. HATANO
	Morocco	Mr. SNOUSSI
	New Zealand	Mr. KEATING
	Pakistan	Mr. MARKER
	Russian Federation	Mr. VORONTSOV
	Spain	Mr. YAÑEZ BARNUEVO
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David HANNAY
	United States of America	Mr. WALKER
	Venezuela	Mr. BIVERO

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93-86758 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 3.25 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE SITUATION IN CAMBODIA

FURTHER REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 745 (1992) (S/26529)

The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Australia, Cambodia and Thailand in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

His Royal Highness Sdech Krom Luong Norodom Ranariddh, First Prime Minister of the Government of Cambodia, and Mr. Hun Sen, Second Prime Minister of the Government of Cambodia, were escorted into the Council Chamber and took places at the Council table.

The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the Security Council, I should like to express a warm welcome to the First Prime Minister of the Government of Cambodia, His Royal Highness Sdech Krom Luong Norodom Ranariddh, and to the Second Prime Minister of the Government of Cambodia, His Excellency Mr. Hun Sen.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Butler (Australia) and Mr. Soonsiri (Thailand) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The PRESIDENT: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

(The President)

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the further report of the Secretary-General on the implementation of Security Council resolution 745 (1992); that report is contained in document S/26529.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/26517, which contains the text of a letter dated 30 September 1993 from the Permanent Representatives of China, France, the Russian Federation, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General, transmitting the text of the statement issued on 30 September 1993 by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the five permanent members of the Security Council following a meeting with the Secretary-General.

The first name inscribed on the list of speakers is that of the First Prime Minister of the Government of Cambodia, His Royal Highness Sdech Krom Luong Norodom Ranariddh. I invite him to make his statement.

Prince NORODOM RANARIDDH (Cambodia) (interpretation from French): It is a great pleasure for me to be invited to address this meeting as First Prime Minister of the Royal Government of Cambodia, along with His Excellency Mr. Hun Sen, Second Prime Minister of the Royal Government of Cambodia.

Let me begin by expressing, on behalf of the Cambodian people, on behalf of His Majesty King Norodom Sihanouk and on behalf of the Royal Government of Cambodia, our deepest and eternal gratitude for everything the international community, through the agency of the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC), has done for the Cambodian people in bringing to a successful end - I might

(Prince Norodom Ranariddh, Cambodia)

even say a historically successful end - 23 years of war, suffering and factional upheaval.

We should like to take this unique opportunity to express our heartfelt thanks to all the Members of the United Nations, but especially to those who so generously sent either military contingents or civilian personnel to serve in UNTAC, an operation wisely and competently led by the United Nations Special Representative, Mr. Yasushi Akashi, to whom we should like to pay here a public tribute.

(Prince Norodom Ranariddh, Cambodia)

So we would like to express our gratitude to those countries that were good enough to send their members to save Cambodia, but also to restore peace and honour with independence, and to help us regain our territorial integrity and our sovereignty.

I would not want to fail to take advantage of this opportunity to pay a final tribute to all those who lost their lives, who sacrificed their lives, for the cause of peace and democracy.

I spoke a moment ago about the success of the United Nations. Allow me to call attention to what I believe are three essential elements of that success, while elsewhere the United Nations - despite very laudable efforts - is still encountering difficulties.

The first element is the commitment of the international community. People usually say that this operation was the most costly. That is true, but this most costly operation is but the expression of the compassion of the international community for the people of Cambodia. And today those people are paying a tribute to them. It is not necessary to say anything more with regard to this first essential element. The contingents - 20,000 men - and matériel, but more than that - the will of the international community to save Cambodia - these were the important things. Nor should we forget that the United Nations chose the best of its best.

The second element of the success it seems to me is even more important, namely the will of the Cambodians to work together with the United Nations. I think this is an essential element, one which deserves to be thought about deeply. This cooperation - I would even call it collaboration - took on several forms. First, people have talked about the massive, record participation: 90 per cent. It was I think, unique, and by that high percentage

(Prince Norodom Ranariddh, Cambodia)

the Cambodian people have shown that they fully understood the importance of the elections organized and supervised by the United Nations. The Cambodian people were able to overcome all obstacles and meet every threat. Nobody will gainsay me on this particular point. There were death threats first of all by a group called the Khmer Rouge, for example. So massive participation was a just assessment for those elections. Collaboration and cooperation of an entire people; a necessary element.

But there were also collaboration and cooperation on the part of our Head of State, Prince Norodom Sihanouk, without whom this success could not have been possible. The Head of State, Prince Norodom Sihanouk, always gave his full support to Mr. Yasushi Akashi, the leader of the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC). He also succeeded in overcoming all the obstacles within the Supreme National Council of Cambodia. That is the second element of collaboration: that of the people, that of the Head of State, but also that of the political parties.

The Cambodian political parties are represented here by the Cambodian People's Party, the Front Uni National pour un Cambodge Indépendant, Neutre, Pacifique et Coopératif (FUNCINPEC) Party, the Liberal Party. You say, "But then there are the Khmer Rouge". But the Khmer Rouge participated in their own way - not always the best way. Mr. Akashi knew something about that. So did the representatives of the Five.

Often Mr. Khieu Samphan was more artistic than Ranariddh in the National Supreme Council. Fine!

But the collaboration of the political parties was essential. That is the second important element that may be lacking for some United Nations operations.

(Prince Norodom Ranariddh, Cambodia)

Finally, a third element for success, namely the will of the Cambodian parties to seek reconciliation. That is the third important element. Without in any way underestimating the United Nations operation itself, the third element is also very important. For example, after the elections, which were hailed by the international community, then endorsed, I believe, on 15 June by the Security Council, some problems did remain, even serious problems, among the Cambodian parties themselves, but once again, thanks to the Head of State and to the will of the two major parties to become reconciled - why not say so? - they saved Cambodia. That is the last element which ensured that the United Nations operation, mandated by the Paris Agreements of 23 October 1990, was hailed as the most successful operation ever undertaken by the United Nations in a country which had suffered a long conflict - even more than that, I was even going to say genocide. There you have it.

Nor could I fail to take this opportunity to express our deepest gratitude to the Security Council, which always knew how to adopt wise and moderate resolutions. On several occasions they faced problems created by various parties, at one time it was the Party of Democratic Kampuchea, but the Security Council always knew how to react firmly but wisely. It was almost what one might call an iron fist in a velvet glove.

The three elements for success I have dealt with. The second point I should like to make - and the Council is perhaps expecting me to deal with it - is: What is going on now and what will happen in the future?

Members of the Council know that after these elections a provisional national administration was formed with two

(Prince Norodom Ranariddh, Cambodia)

co-Prime Ministers. That is an original formula. It is not exactly a canonical solution in terms of classic liberal democracy. As a professor of constitutional law I might have to answer to my students about this structure, which is rather unusual but conforming - if one wished to conform - to principles. One might say something about peace and national reconciliation.

(Prince Norodom Ranariddh, Cambodia)

This is the solution that my suzerain, the Head of State, has chosen, and this is the rather unusual solution that the major parties have adopted. One might say that Cambodians never do things the way everybody else does; I must say, though, that it is not everybody that has Prince Sihanouk as Head of State either.

Why is it that after the elections the international community was worried - and it was worried, moreover, before the elections too? Because the Khmer Rouge were not taking part in them. The Khmer Rouge boycotted, threatened - but the elections passed off just the same, successfully, with the massive, record turnout that we saw.

But after the elections, that was not the end of the story. Far from it! Would we have the two-thirds majority needed to adopt the new constitution? And once the new constitution was adopted, what would happen with the transfer of powers?

I know that the famous "Prime Five" - and they are famous - got together, agreed, and thought up scenarios - the worst possible scenarios, of course - for the transfer of power. The two-headed government, as the Khmer Rouge called it - and I should tell you that meanwhile the Khmer Rouge continued to accuse us of being "puppets", saying that we had one old puppet and one new one - but they continued to insist on being advisers to the government, which is to say that they continued to insist on being advisers to puppets, which does not exactly make much sense, particularly Cartesian sense, even though Mr. Pol Pot was a graduate of the Sorbonne.

I do beg pardon if my statement seems rather disjointed; the thing is that Mr. Akashi managed to persuade me to appear before

(Prince Norodom Ranariddh, Cambodia)

the Council only as recently as 12.10 this afternoon, so I have not had the time, not even an hour, to prepare.

So, the two-headed government made it possible for the work of the Constituent Assembly to take place in conditions of near normalcy; it managed to meet, and elected the 12 members of the Constitutional Commission, who drafted a constitution, of the constitutional monarchy type, but extremely democratic in nature. That constitution was adopted without difficulty - not unanimously, but with 113 votes in favour - and unanimity would be even better then a very large majority, would it not?

After that, a king was elected; you know who he is: the New York Times or the Washington Post published on its front page two photographs of my suzerain, King Sihanouk, sitting in the same chair - the caption was that it was the same chair, and also the same man, and that the only difference was age.

Once a Head of State, a King, had been elected, he, knowing that we were to take part in the General Assembly hurried, in accordance with articles XIII and XIV of the Constitution, on the proposal of the President of the National Assembly and the two Vice-Presidents, to appoint the Prime Ministers of His Majesty's Government. These are the first and the second Prime Ministers - rather a difficult notion. Here again, we have not exactly done like everybody else, but what matter: here we are before you, and we understand each other very well. This, more than anything, is the key to success, that is to say, the key to peace and stability in Cambodia.

The new, definitive cabinet will be formed; I shall not waste your time by talking to you about the Constitution, but I should like to reassure the purists in matters of constitutional law - and

(Prince Norodom Ranariddh, Cambodia)

I myself teach constitutional law - that the new Constitution does say that once the transition period is over, there will be only one Prime Minister, so please be reassured.

The ministerial portfolios have already been distributed between the two or three parties; we shall hurry back to Cambodia in order to appoint the ministers. The fact remains that a government has arisen out of 23 years of war, of unspeakable suffering, in order to govern the country - not to govern it alone but to govern it with the assistance of the international community.

So, what are the problems that Cambodia will or must face? This is the third point I wish to make in my statement here today.

The first of these rather extraordinary problems is the problem of internal security, and here there are two kinds of security problem involved. First there is the security problem resulting from the presence of armed men, of armed bands; because, whether we like it or not, the United Nations operation has not succeeded in disarming and demobilizing those famous "at least 70 per cent", because it wasted its time in fighting over whether to put "70 per cent" - and I beg the Americans to excuse me here - and the Americans said we must add the words "at least", and then there were those who wanted them all disarmed. We are far from achieving that, and this is the situation we inherited.

Then there is also the security problem of that group called the Khmer Rouge. Let us no longer call it, please, the part of Democratic Kampuchea. That Party exists only in so far as the Agreements of 23 October apply, that is, if there is a Supreme National Council. The day there is a new assembly, a new Head of State, and, first and foremost, a new government formed in

(Prince Norodom Ranariddh, Cambodia)

conformity with those Accords, the Cambodian Supreme National Council ceases to exist.

(Prince Norodom Ranariddh, Cambodia)

Therefore, we should no longer speak of a "part". Moreover, the old parts have merged within the framework of a National Assembly and a Royal Government, with a royal administration and royal armed forces. What remains to be attended to is the matter of the Khmer Rouge, which we call a "group". Where do we stand?

First, as I had the honour to say in my speech yesterday, the position of the Royal Government is very clear:

"We are prepared to welcome the Khmer Rouge into the royal armed forces of Cambodia." (A/48/PV.15)

We are prepared to accept them into our Government, as advisers. But in return we are entitled, as the legal, legitimate representatives of the Cambodian people, to ask them, first of all, to recognize the Constitution - which they have done - and to recognize His Majesty the King - which they did as well; but they must also recognize the Royal Government whose Prime Ministers were appointed by His Majesty the King in keeping with the new Constitution. That is not very much to ask.

We would like to take this opportunity to thank and express all our gratitude to all the friendly Governments that have recognized *de jure* the Royal Government of Cambodia as the governmental structure which is the sole legitimate representative of Cambodia.

Secondly - and these are not preconditions - the Khmer Rouge group, like the three former Cambodian groups, must dismantle its army and its administration, in order to merge into a single national royal army and a single national royal administration. This request seems to us to be reasonable and legitimate. Why would they not do as the others did? We would also like the Khmer Rouge group to open up its autonomous zone. The Cambodian

(Prince Norodom Ranariddh, Cambodia)

Constitution makes it clear that the national territory is indivisible. The Khmer Rouge has recognized that Constitution, and it must apply one of its fundamental provisions. Again, it is a completely reasonable request.

How to resolve all these problems? We are awaiting the response of Mr. Samphan. Allow me to tell the Council that before I came here, Mr. Khieu Samphan sent us a letter in which he continues to speak of Vietnamese forces and of entente: "Vietnamese forces" and "entente" which continue to attack the patriotic Khmer Rouge forces. And do not think that by "entente" he means us; this is not the Hun Sen-Ranariddh entente. By "entente" he means to designate the United States of America, the United Kingdom, Russia, France, Japan, Australia - this is the "entente" that would, with Vietnam, destroy the patriotic forces. Not long ago, the "entente" was led by Mr. Yasushi Akashi and General Sanderson.

We hope that when the round table takes place - which will be in a month, I believe, in November - His Majesty the King, in his wisdom and magnaminity, will succeed in resolving this problem, because we need national reconciliation. We need peace, after 23 years of war and suffering. Now we have to rebuild and reconstruct Cambodia, which is in ruins. On the subject of this round table, I wish to make a clarification: it will not be a party-to-party discussion. Let there be no mistake about this point. There will be no discussion among parties. It is a meeting, presided over by the King, among the legal representatives and a group. That group must decide very quickly whether it would like to remain within the international community, within the sphere of legality, or outside legality. That is our position on this famous problem.

(Prince Norodom Ranariddh, Cambodia)

It remains only to speak of national reconstruction and rehabilitation. May we be allowed to take this unique opportunity to express to the international community, and especially to France and Japan, our gratitude for having been good enough to organize - with well-known success - two conferences, one in Tokyo and the other recently in Paris, on the reconstruction and rehabilitation of Cambodia.

I come to the conclusion, as follows.

Some Members of the United Nations, in light of the problem this Organization is encountering at this time, would like us to rest on the laurels of an outstanding success. It is true that the United Nations operation in Cambodia has been an outstanding success. One does not want to have a sequel, such as Rambo I or Rambo II: one Rambo was enough. The first one was good, but usually the sequel is not as good as the first one. I agree. Cambodia agrees, that the mandate of the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC), which stems from the 23 October agreements, has been completed with the greatest success. Once again, I would like to pay it a tribute here. It has been completed.

(Prince Norodom Ranariddh, Cambodia)

None the less, I should like to draw the attention of the Council to the fact that the peace Agreements contain four important parts. The third deals with guarantees given by the international community, through the United Nations, with regard to matters including the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and internal security of Cambodia.

The international community has an obligation under these Agreements. I have said that Cambodia has too few resources to guarantee its own security. As Cambodia has been devastated, it must devote all the resources compassionately given by friendly countries to economic, social and other types of rehabilitation. Thus there is an obligation on the part of the international community.

My next point concerns the fourth part of the Paris Agreements, which refers to the rehabilitation and reconstruction of Cambodia. Bearing in mind these two essential parts, would it not be reasonable - after the expenditure of so much money, after so many efforts have been made, and after so many lives have been sacrificed in a good cause - to have a small United Nations presence in Cambodia, not to continue the peace-keeping operation for which UNTAC was given a mandate in the Agreements of 23 October, but to increase the confidence that the Cambodian people need, because there is still not complete security in Cambodia?

Mr. Hun Sen and I are determined to strengthen national reconciliation. Mr. Akashi would confirm that no one hearing the speeches made by me and by Mr. Hun Sen during the election campaign could have believed that such reconciliation was possible. But it

(Prince Norodom Ranariddh, Cambodia)

is possible. No one is required to do the impossible. But the Cambodian people made it possible, and they must be helped.

We Cambodians are determined to rebuild our country together, while maintaining internal peace, social peace and securing international guarantees of our independence and security. That is what we are determined to do. But a small United Nations presence, following its massive presence, would help to strengthen the confidence that already exists.

I apologize to my Chinese friends here when I say that if one is Chinese one does not invest $2 billion and then try to save $30 million. What is needed is a small presence. I have not come here to beg. Mr. Hun Sen and I have already decided that if our request is too much for the Organization we shall do without. But this small presence is the first matter for consideration.

I should like to refer now to an operation that must continue, no matter what the cost. I refer to de-mining - a job that will take 5, 10 or 20 years. Millions of mines have been planted everywhere. We must look to the safety of present and future generations of Cambodians. We need people to cultivate the fields again - thousands of hectares. The de-mining cannot be done without the presence and assistance of the international community. Here, we should like to acknowledge the help of friendly countries that have been especially concerned about the question of de-mining.

We must also consider human rights. In this context, I must refer to the recent past - yes, the recent past. We ask simply for a United Nations presence in the shape of a permanent Centre for Human Rights. Human rights of all types are set out clearly in Cambodia's new Constitution.

(Prince Norodom Ranariddh, Cambodia)

My next point concerns national reconstruction. Mr. Hun Sen and I, as Prime Ministers of the Royal Government of Cambodia, would prefer to keep the International Committee on the Reconstruction of Cambodia, rather than have another coordinating body established. The International Committee could meet regularly to assess the assistance promised by our friends. Many promises have been made: some $800 million in Tokyo and $123 million in Paris. There must be a coordinating body, a United Nations programme for Cambodia, perhaps. There must be a United Nations presence.

In addition to the bodies I have mentioned there is the United Nations Economic, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). I have raised the question of our cultural heritage. I hope that this body will consider the problems of vandalism and the theft and sale of Cambodian works of art. The efforts of UNESCO and of the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) are very necessary.

My final, and most thorny, point concerns the military observers. As this matter gives rise to so many difficulties, I shall give the Council some information.

(Prince Norodom Ranariddh, Cambodia)

First, it was His Majesty the King - at that time still Head of State - who, together with his Excellency the Special Representative, thought it would be advisable to have a small presence of observers; if members prefer and if it would be reassuring, one could call them liaison officers. Their role would be primarily psychological. But in any case their presence must have a time-limit: six months, or maybe a little longer; it is up to the Security Council to decide that. As for how many, we have said 20, but one could say 20, 30, 35 or 50. As for the mandate, the mission of the observers: observers are simply observers. They cannot take any action or participate in any operation; they can only observe.

Those are some of the points we should like to clarify, but again, if this matter is problematic for the Security Council, His Excellency Mr. Hun Sen and I are ready to forgo our request and stand on the historic success, on the will of the Cambodian people to assume responsibility for and take hold of the destiny of their country.

That is how I wish to conclude my statement - a bit long, and I apologize; that is the problem with making a statement without a written text, but there are longer speeches made with a text.

I should like once again very humbly to express, from the very bottom of our hearts, to the members of the Council, and through them to their countries and their peoples, our deepest gratitude for all the United Nations has done, with striking success, to help Cambodia. The success of the United Nations in Cambodia, as I said yesterday, is but the expression of a desire held in common between the international community, which wishes to save this people, and this people, which wishes to save its country.

Mr. MERIMEE (France) (interpretation from French): I should like first of all to hail the presence here of His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Ranariddh and His Excellency Mr. Hun Sen, who are the embodiment of the national reconciliation that the international community and France have long desired. We thank His Royal Highness for the very interesting comments he has just made on the situation, past and present, in Cambodia.

My country, having taken the initiative four years ago of convening the Paris Conference on Cambodia to rebuild peace and democracy in that country with the unprecedented assistance of the United Nations, is happy to see today that its objectives have been reached.

The success of the elections in Cambodia is, first, a success for the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC), which, under the authority of the Secretary-General's Special Representative, for almost two years contributed to the establishment of stability in the country and was able to cast out the demons of fear and restore confidence to a population that was battered and desperate after decades of civil war, terror and occupation.

But it is also a victory for the Cambodian people, for while UNTAC taught freedom of expression and the defence of human rights to that courageous people desirous of regaining mastery over their own fate, the Cambodians have now made those ideas their own. France has looked on with great excitement as true political debate was revived; we have followed the meetings held during the electoral campaign that, despite the threats hanging over them, were attended by hundreds of thousands of Cambodians who then went to the polls with laudable enthusiasm. France pays tribute to the courage and determination of that people to which France has been

(Mr. Mérimée, France)

linked by history for more than a century. My country also pays tribute to the wisdom of its representatives, who knew how to listen to the voice of reason and put their quarrels aside in order to establish a coalition Government. Finally, we pay tribute to His Majesty King Norodom Sihanouk, who has unquestionably been the unifier of the Cambodian people throughout this difficult period.

It is thus with a sense of mission accomplished that the Special Representative of the Secretary-General was able to leave Cambodia a few days ago, declaring UNTAC's mandate fulfilled and passing powers to the legal Government. Cambodia has regained its full sovereignty and found again its rightful place in Asia and the international community. It has, in a way, rejoined the community of law.

But the United Nations cannot be satisfied with merely leaving the country and wishing the Cambodian people good luck. It has the duty to live up to its expectations, a duty that results also from the actions carried out by the Cambodians themselves for the peace process in the country. Its representatives here with us today recognize the useful role played by our Organization and ask it to continue its presence in Cambodia in the area of reconstruction, development and - constituting a victory of democratic ideas - the enhancement and protection of human rights.

The Cambodian Government is also asking, through them, for the maintenance of a team of military observers. I can assure the Council that my Government is prepared to give favourable consideration to this request. It is the Secretary-General's intention to open an integrated United Nations office in Cambodia. France welcomes this idea, because we feel that such representation will be a symbol of the continued commitment of the international

(Mr. Mérimée, France)

community and the United Nations to the process of consolidating peace in this country.

With the assistance of the United Nations and its specialized agencies, the Cambodian people will now be able to devote their energies to the enormous task of rebuilding a State and an economy. The Cambodian people can be assured, in this regard, of the support of my country, which recently hosted the meeting of the Committee for the reconstruction of Cambodia, and of its desire to engage in multifaceted cooperation with Phnom Penh.

These positive points aside, there remains a problem we cannot but mention: the situation of the Khmer Rouge group. They themselves refused to participate in the elections. If today they wish to rejoin the international community, they must recognize the legitimate authorities of this country, open up their zone completely and accept the rules of democracy. They must know that any act of violence committed against the legal Government will bring the unequivocal condemnation of the international community down on its perpetrators and also, if necessary, against those who have provided support or served as accomplices.

In this regard I must recall that while the second instrument in the Paris Agreements, which spelled out the UNTAC mandate, is no longer in force, the third instrument is. It concerns, as members know, the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and inviolability, neutrality and national unity guaranteed by the States signatories of the Paris Agreements, as well as the Declaration on the recovery of Cambodia.

Finally, the spirit of the Paris Agreements must be maintained. I would recall that recourse to the Co-Chairmen is possible at any moment. I believe I can say that Indonesia and

(Mr. Mérimée, France)

France will assume fully and without reserve their responsibilities in this regard.

(Mr. Mérimée, France)

France hopes that the process of restoring peace and democracy in Cambodia can be an example for the United Nations in the implementation of its other peace-keeping operations. This example could also be kept in mind by the peoples and the leaders in Europe, Africa and Latin America who are prepared to appeal to the United Nations but not necessarily to clearly choose peace or to make the necessary efforts to that end.

In conclusion, I should like, on behalf of France, to address to His Royal Highness King Norodom Sihanouk and to the leaders and the people of Cambodia, who are entering a new era, all my good wishes for success.

Mr. WALKER (United States of America): It is a profound pleasure to welcome His Royal Highness First Prime Minister Norodom Ranariddh and His Excellency Second Prime Minister Hun Sen to the Security Council.

My Government would like to take this opportunity to express our sincere appreciation and congratulations for the great contributions you have made under the wise leadership of His Majesty King Norodom Sihanouk to bringing a real, lasting peace to Cambodia. We wholeheartedly applaud your success in forming a new Government and in approving a Constitution that will help guarantee democracy and respect for the human rights of all Cambodians.

Prior to last May's elections there were many voices of doubt and even despair about the prospects for success in Cambodia. Thanks to your efforts, the courage and determination of the Cambodian people and the support of the international community, those dire predictions have given way to a new-found hope and confidence. This triumph for peace and democracy has not come

(Mr. Walker, United States)

easily, however. It has been won at the cost of blood and sacrifice by many Cambodians and by personnel of the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC). We must help ensure that that which has been won at such great cost is not lost.

I should also like to take this occasion to express our appreciation to the Secretary-General's Special Representative for Cambodia, Yasushi Akashi; to UNTAC Force Commander General Sanderson; and to the men and women of UNTAC for their invaluable contributions. They have been a credit to their respective countries and to the institution of the United Nations and stand as a fine example of the contribution United Nations peace-keeping operations can make to promoting international peace and security. UNTAC represents what can be accomplished when the United Nations perseveres through adversity and outbreaks of violence to help rebuild a nation shattered by civil war and atrocities. The lessons of UNTAC will not be forgotten as this body responds to other security challenges.

The future of Cambodia's freedom and democracy is first and foremost the responsibility of the Cambodian people. However, it also remains a matter of great importance to the United Nations and to the international community, which have invested so much to help the Cambodian people. UNTAC has completed its mission, and the new royal Cambodian government, under the leadership of His Majesty King Sihanouk, has rightfully assumed all the rights and responsibilities of a sovereign nation. The challenge ahead for the international community is to assist it in ways it finds appropriate to ensure the continuation of the great progress that has been achieved, and to allow Cambodia to enjoy the peace it so richly deserves.

Mr. LI Zhaoxing (China) (interpretation from Chinese): First of all, please allow me to extend, on behalf of the Chinese delegation, our warm welcome to His Royal Highness Sdech Krom Luong Norodom Ranariddh, First Prime Minister of the Royal Government of Cambodia, to His Excellency Mr. Hun Sen, Second Prime Minister, and to the other members of their delegation who are in our midst today. I should also like to thank His Royal Highness for the statement he made just now.

The Chinese delegation is pleased to note that at a time when we are once again considering the question of Cambodia, encouraging changes have taken place in that country. In September of this year, the new Constitution became effective in Cambodia, King Sihanouk was enthroned, and the new Government started to operate. All these developments show that the peace process in Cambodia has entered a new and historic stage.

The Paris Agreements were signed two years ago by the various Cambodian parties and the countries concerned. The United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) was established by the Security Council soon after, reflecting the determination and conviction of the Cambodian people and of the international community to arrive at a political settlement of the Cambodian question. In order to achieve peace in Cambodia, the peace-loving Cambodian people, with the assistance of the United Nations and the countries concerned, made unswerving efforts, overcame various difficulties and setbacks, and finally achieved success recognized by the entire world. For this, we wish to offer our warm congratulations.

The solution to the question of Cambodia has set a successful example for resolving regional conflicts throuqh peaceful means. Practice has proved that where there is a will, there is a way. As

(Mr. Li Zhaoxing, China)

long as we rely on the peoples in the countries concerned, earnestly implement the relevant agreements and adhere to the principle of settling disputes through peaceful negotiations, no matter how complicated and difficult the question is it will be settled appropriately.

King Sihanouk has played an important role in promoting the peace process in Cambodia. The King is a leader beloved by the Cambodian people and a statesman with vision. Over the years, he has made significant contributions to achieving Cambodia's independence, sovereignty, peace, unification and territorial integrity, promoting national reconciliation and maintaining peace and stability. The Chinese Government and people have always deeply admired and appreciated his endeavours.

In celebrating the victory in the peace process of Cambodia, we should not forget those who have made outstanding contributions to the cause of peace in Cambodia. Some peace-keeping personnel, including two members of the Chinese engineering detachment, even sacrificed their precious lives. The Chinese delegation wishes to express its sincere condolences to their families.

China has all along devoted its efforts to the political and comprehensive settlement of the Cambodian question and supported the efforts of King Sihanouk and the Cambodian people to achieve national independence, peace and reconciliation, and the stands of the Cambodian Government on the safeguarding of national sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity, neutrality and unity. During the phase of the rehabilitation and reconstruction of Cambodia, China is in favour of the United Nations and the international community providing, at the request of the Cambodian Government, all the assistance conducive to safeguarding the

(Mr. Li Zhaoxing, China)

country's sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity and to promoting national reconstruction and economic development.

China sincerely hopes that Cambodia, after its protracted war, will embark on the road of peace, stability and prosperity under the leadership of King Sihanouk.

Mr. MARKER (Pakistan): Permit me to state how happy we are, Sir, to see you presiding over our deliberations for the month of October. I am confident that under your able leadership the Council will function smoothly and effectively.

We are grateful also to His Excellency Mr. Adolfo Raul Taylhardat, the Permanent Representative of Venezuela, for the most impressive manner in which he conducted the affairs of the Council during the month of September. He is indeed a diplomat of great skill and experience.

(Mr. Marker, Pakistan)

It is a privilege and an honour for my delegation to extend a warm and sincere welcome to His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Ranariddh, First Prime Minister, and His Excellency Mr. Hun Sen, Second Prime Minister of the Royal Government of Cambodia. Having listened to the eloquent report by His Royal Highness, one can say with confidence that after many years of trial and tribulation, Cambodia is now firmly set on the road to democracy, peace and prosperity.

The Government of Pakistan played a modest role in the international effort to restore peace and democracy in Cambodia by contributing troops and civilian police monitors for the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC). Some Pakistani officials also helped in the conduct of the democratic elections in that country. We therefore share in the sense of accomplishment and joy at the completion of the UNTAC mission. Indeed, UNTAC was a unique experience and perhaps the most elaborate and complex operation ever undertaken by the United Nations. Its successful conclusion is in itself a tribute to the Secretary-General, his Special Representative, Mr. Yasushi Akashi, who headed the operation, the UNTAC personnel and, of course, above all, the leadership and the people of Cambodia, without whose commitment, cooperation, courage and determination success would not have been possible.

As we rejoice with the people of Cambodia and the rest of the world over the return of democracy and relative peace to Cambodia, we cannot forget the sacrifices given by UNTAC personnel to realize that noble objective. Our sympathies and condolences go to the families and the Governments of all those courageous UNTAC soldiers

(Mr. Marker, Pakistan)

who laid down their lives in the cause of peace and stability in Cambodia.

The vital contribution of His Royal Highness King Norodom Sihanouk throughout the entire long process cannot be overemphasized. During the darkest days of Cambodia, he continued to serve as a beacon of hope for that country. We welcome his accession to the throne of Cambodia and hope that he will continue to play a significant role in consolidating peace and stability in his country and in bringing about genuine national reconciliation. At this juncture, I would also like to reaffirm the full support of the Government of Pakistan for the new Government of Cambodia.

We have been pleased to learn that an assessment of the UNTAC experience is currently under way in the United Nations Secretariat. We are confident that an in-depth evaluation of the various aspects of the United Nations operation in Cambodia will lead to conclusions that might be helpful elsewhere. It would be useful if the results of this specific endeavour were also shared with Member States.

The United Nations operation in Cambodia was also significant in some other ways. It had a clearly defined objective, it had a definite time frame before it, it had the support of the international community and it enjoyed the benefit of brilliant leadership.

During the period of conflict and turmoil in Cambodia, which is happily behind us now, the country's infrastructure was heavily damaged while its institutions suffered considerably. Though the mandate of UNTAC has come to an end with the establishment of a constitutional Government in Cambodia, the need for international assistance is still very much there. To consolidate the gains

(Mr. Marker, Pakistan)

already made as well as to ensure national reconciliation and the strengthening of democracy in Cambodia, it is important that the reconstruction of Cambodia's infrastructure and institutions is completed as quickly as possible. For this purpose the developed and the wealthy countries will have to continue with the commitment they have already demonstrated towards Cambodia.

My delegation has taken note of the joint letter written to the Secretary-General by the First Prime Minister and the Second Prime Minister of Cambodia, asking for the deployment of 20 to 30 international unarmed military observers for a period of six months to oversee the security and military situation in Cambodia and to report their findings to the Secretary-General. My delegation strongly endorses that Cambodian request.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Pakistan for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. KEATING (New Zealand): New Zealand also welcomes very warmly the presence here today of the two Prime Ministers of the new Royal Cambodian Government: His Royal Highness Prince Ranariddh and His Excellency Mr. Hun Sen. We pay a tribute to both Prime Ministers, and to His Royal Highness King Sihanouk, who has played such a pivotal role in the establishment of the new constitutional arrangements.

Today the Security Council is able to enjoy a rare luxury in the exercise of its responsibilities for the maintenance of international peace and security, because today we celebrate a success. And there can be little doubt that the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) and the process that it oversaw were indeed successful. As His Royal Highness noted in his address yesterday to the General Assembly, there are many countries

(Mr. Keating, New Zealand)

and individuals who played important roles in bringing about that success: the members of the core group; the permanent members of this Council; and most especially the countries of the region, the members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN), which kept the issue of Cambodia before the eyes of the international community for such a very long time.

A particular tribute must be paid to the Secretary-General, to his Special Representative, Mr. Akashi, to the UNTAC Commander, General Sanderson, and to all the military and civilian personnel who took part in the UNTAC operation. Some of the UNTAC personnel gave their lives for Cambodia. There can be no clearer demonstration of the commitment of those individuals and of their Governments to the restoration of peace.

As we all know, despite the well-intentioned efforts of the outside world, our efforts alone could not have brought about the success we are celebrating today. They would have come to nothing if they had not been matched by the determination of the Cambodian people to put an end to the bloodshed and the fighting that have made the recent history of Cambodia so tragic. That determination was evident before the elections in the large numbers of refugees who returned to their country and in the huge numbers of people who registered for elections. But the most graphic proof came when the elections were under way. Ordinary Cambodian citizens showed that they would not be cowed by threats of violence and the menace of intimidation. Instead, they seized the opportunity that was offered to them and made the most of it.

We very much welcome the fact that, with one exception, Cambodia's leaders responded to that demonstration by their people and put behind them their disagreements. They fashioned a new

(Mr. Keating, New Zealand)

Government of National Reconciliation. We note from His Royal Highness's statement to the General Assembly, and we heard again in his statement today, that the new Government continues to hold out to the Khmer Rouge the opportunity to join in the newly established political process. But given its grisly history, the Khmer Rouge can expect little sympathy from the international community if it continues to reject the path of peace and cooperation.

As with the past, so too with the future. If Cambodia is to continue the process of re-establishing a successful, functioning society, then it will do so largely as a consequence of the efforts of the Cambodians themselves. They must take the lead in shaping their own destiny.

(Mr. Keating, New Zealand)

But the international community must also play its part. The end of UNTAC does not mean the end of the United Nations involvement in Cambodia. In his report the Secretary-General set out a number of proposals for continued United Nations involvement in Cambodia. In his address yesterday His Royal Highness underscored those matters to which the Cambodian Government attaches particular importance: the establishment of an integrated United Nations office in Phnom Penh; the continued presence of the United Nations relief and development programmes; the establishment of a human rights centre and a continuation of de-mining operations within the framework of the Cambodian Mine Action Centre. New Zealand endorses all of those elements and is confident that they will be given effect by the Secretary-General and the other parts of the United Nations system.

As far as the Council is concerned, we note that the two Prime Ministers have submitted a request to the Secretary-General for the dispatch of 20 to 30 unarmed military observers for a six-month period following the end of UNTAC. The Council has just received a report from the Secretary-General, and we look forward to considering that request in the light of the Secretary-General's recommendations.

It is time for the Council to consider a further resolution on Cambodia which will respond to this request for military observers and will address other aspects of the post-UNTAC United Nations presence. We would hope that this action could be completed this week. In that connection, we recall the valuable initiative taken by the United States during its presidency of the Council in August, when it convened a meeting of an open-ended working group of all countries interested in the Cambodia problem in order to

(Mr. Keating, New Zealand)

begin discussion of a draft resolution. We hope that a similar procedure will be followed in bringing to a conclusion a draft resolution on the subject and that special efforts will be made to consult the representatives of Cambodia and the other countries of the region. As His Royal Highness reminded the General Assembly yesterday, many countries have played a special role in Cambodia. Those countries continue to have a special interest in Cambodia and have a valuable contribution to make. The Council should take that into account as it continues its work to help Cambodia on behalf of the international community.

Sir David HANNAY (United Kingdom): I would like to extend a warm welcome in the name of my Government to His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Ranariddh on this historic occasion. The United Kingdom greatly appreciates and admires the vital role which he has played, together with His Majesty Norodom Sihanouk, King of Cambodia, and His Excellency Mr Hun Sen, in ensuring the successful implementation of the Paris Agreements. We hope that, with steadfast international support, they will continue their efforts to bring peace and stability to the benefit of all the Cambodian people.

The United Nations operation in Cambodia has been a real success, despite many predictions of impending disaster throughout the pre-electoral period. In his address to the General Assembly yesterday His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Ranariddh rightly recognized and paid tribute to the forces of the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC), which played a decisive role in the effort to bring democracy and freedom to the Cambodian people. I would like to add my own Government's appreciation of UNTAC personnel and of UNTAC's leader, Yasushi Akashi, for their

(Sir David Hannay, United Kingdom)

tireless work in very difficult circumstances. I express my sympathy and sorrow to the families of those who gave their lives in Cambodia for the sake of peace.

Although UNTAC's mandate has now ended, Cambodia still needs and still deserves a helping hand from the international community. The United Kingdom supports the United Nations continuing close involvement in Cambodia through its agencies and specialized programmes. We look forward to the Secretary-General's recommendations on further United Nations involvement and will give them our speedy and serious consideration. The United Kingdom will join others in the international community in providing support through bilateral aid programmes.

Democracy is a fragile plant. It is important that, with the help of the international community, all Cambodians now work together to nurture it and to cherish it. It will require much hard work and determination to consolidate the achievements made so far. The new Constitution is a significant and welcome step towards this goal. The United Kingdom is particularly pleased that strong human-rights provisions form a central part of that Constitution. It is essential that they be respected.

The United Nations is often criticized as ineffective, incapable of responding to the challenges of a world increasing in turmoil. The success of this United Nations operation in Cambodia, indeed, the very presence of our distinguished guests in this Chamber, demonstrates to these critics that the United Nations can work as it Charter intended it to do, that even seemingly intractable problems can be solved, that peace can be restored and that light can illuminate the darkness that reigned in Cambodia not long ago. Let us hope that the example of Cambodia will be a lesson to us, and an inspiration.

Mr. HATANO (Japan): I am glad that this Security Council meeting is being held today, and I am pleased with the way it is now being held. I wish to welcome His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Ranariddh, the First Prime Minister, and His Excellency Mr. Hun Sen, the Second Prime Minister, to our meeting today.

My Government extends its full support to the Royal Government of Cambodia, which has been established through a democratic process and is based on the will of the Cambodian people. Indeed, with the extraordinarily successful general election last May, the subsequent promulgation of the new Constitution, the accession to the throne of His Majesty King Norodom Sihanouk and the formation of the Royal Government of Cambodia, the Cambodian people can at long last devote their energies to resuming their own lives and rebuilding their own country. I would like on this occasion to pay a high tribute to the persevering efforts of all those concerned, especially the Secretary-General, his Special Representative Mr. Akashi, and, most particularly, His Majesty King Norodom Sihanouk, whose wisdom and leadership ensured the success of the peace process.

I commend the outstanding achievement of the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC). UNTAC has played a vital role in restoring peace, freedom and democracy to Cambodia, in accordance with the mandate entrusted to it by the Paris Agreements. Its achievement sets a new standard for peace-keeping operations, and I am convinced that the experience gained through UNTAC will provide the United Nations with useful insights for its future operations.

Although UNTAC has completed its mandate and is scheduled to withdraw by 15 November, this does not mean that we can turn our

(Mr. Hatano, Japan)

attention away from Cambodia. On the contrary, it is essential that the international community lend constant support to the efforts of the Cambodian people to rebuild their war-torn country. Such support is particularly necessary now that the new Government has been established.

(Mr. Hatano, Japan)

In his address yesterday to the General Assembly, His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Ranariddh noted that:

"... the new Cambodia needs aid and assistance from the international community ... for the reconstruction and rehabilitation of our impoverished country." (A/48/PV.15)

This I believe is precisely what the Secretary-General of the United Nations had in mind when he outlined the importance of post-conflict peace-building in his report "An Agenda for Peace".

It goes without saying that economic assistance for reconstruction and rehabilitation in Cambodia will strengthen and reinforce the fragile peace which has been restored after decades of conflict and unspeakable human suffering.

As a neighbouring Asian country, Japan has been closely involved in the Cambodian peace process. Japan supported the peace effort through its participation in the Security Council deliberations, by hosting international meetings, sending peace-keeping operation personnel and mediating among the parties to the conflict.

In June last year my Government hosted in Tokyo the Ministerial Conference on the Rehabilitation and Reconstruction of Cambodia, and last month in Paris Japan co-chaired with France the International Committee on the Reconstruction of Cambodia. At those meetings a total of approximately $1 billion was pledged for Cambodian reconstruction, including Japan's pledge of up to $200 million.

The task of reconstruction has only just begun. The Cambodian people will be expected to concentrate all their energy and resources on rehabilitation and reconstruction to ensure a durable peace in their country. The economic stability obtained through

(Mr. Hatano, Japan)

such efforts will, in turn, foster social and political stability, thereby making possible the prosperity and lasting peace of Cambodia.

In closing I should like to reiterate that the completion of the UNTAC operation marks just the beginning of a long process of building a peaceful and prosperous Cambodia. I therefore hope that the Security Council will adopt as soon as possible a comprehensive resolution that will seek to reinforce peace and stability in Cambodia and ensure that the progress made thus far is irreversible.

Mr. ERDÖS (Hungary)(interpretation from French): First, I should like to welcome here among us most warmly His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Ranariddh, First Prime Minister of the Royal Government, and His Excellency, Mr. Hun Sen, Second Prime Minister of the Royal Government of Cambodia.

The message just brought to us is a faithful reflection of the new chapter that is opening in the history of the Khmer people. I am sure that the Security Council will very carefully and in a positive way consider the matters that were raised in Prince Norodom Ranariddh's speech.

Today's meeting is a happy one which celebrates the efforts of the people of Cambodia and of the international community to ensure that peace and democracy triumph in Cambodia. The establishment of the constituent Assembly, following the election, the promulgation of a new Constitution, the establishment of a new government and, most recently, the election of the King of the Kingdom of Cambodia are all striking and eloquent examples of what has been achieved.

In our world which is full of tension, flashpoints and wars, we must properly appreciate the success of this effort which has

(Mr. Erdös, Hungary)

been able to put an end to the suffering and ravages that have afflicted the people of that country so harshly, turning one of the darkest pages of their recent history. The United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC), with a modest Hungarian contribution, has been the broadest and largest operation in the history of the Organization, an operation that successfully attained its objectives.

UNTAC, under the leadership of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Yasushi Akashi, and all of the international personnel involved in it, worked under extremely complex conditions to put Cambodia back on its feet and restore the conditions necessary to ensure the functioning of the country.

Looking back we can say, with good reason, that the United Nations presence in Cambodia can be regarded as a model. Despite major difficulties, casualties and much tension, all of which occurred as Cambodia moved along the road towards the settlement which had been envisaged in the Paris Agreements, the international community was able to avoid the shoals in the path to reconciliation and national reconstruction.

One of the most important lessons of this recent period was how right the United Nations was to refuse to withdraw in the face of difficulties and attempts at military or other kinds of intimidation. The credibility and authority of the world Organization will be strengthened, provided that it is willing to commit itself, on the basis of a clear and well-defined plan, to go the distance in its efforts to prevent conflict, to keep or make peace, and to build peace in post-conflict situations.

From this point of view, and now that UNTAC's mandate has drawn to an end, it is of paramount importance to keep what has

(Mr. Erdös, Hungary)

been won in Cambodia and to make sure that there is no movement backwards so that all the opportunities now available in the country are fully used in the interests of the rebirth of the Khmer people, in restoring decent living conditions, ensuring full respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, and for the economic and social recovery of the country.

We pay tribute to His Royal Highness King Norodom Sihanouk and express our conviction that, under his wise leadership, the auspicious developments currently under way in Cambodia will have a good influence, will open up a future of peace and prosperity for that devastated country and, let me add, will be a good influence not only on the Khmer people but also, without doubt, on the prospects of finding settlements in other hotbeds of tension throughout the world.

Mr. VORONTSOV (Russian Federation)(interpretation from Russian): The Russian Federation was extremely pleased at hearing of the proclamation of the Kingdom of Cambodia, the adoption of a new Constitution in the country, and the establishment of the organs of State authority in the country, the Government and the Assembly.

We welcome the election of the King of Cambodia under the new Constitution, His Royal Highness King Norodom Sihanouk, who has made an invaluable contribution to the cause of national reconciliation in Cambodia. We regard as deeply symbolic the presence here in the Security Council of Prince Norodom Ranariddh, the First Prime Minister, and Mr. Hun Sen, the Second Prime Minister of the Royal Government of Cambodia. We greatly appreciate their efforts to ensure the rehabilitation of the country and we welcome their participation in this meeting of the Security Council.

(Mr. Vorontsov,
Russian Federation)

These landmark events in the life of the Cambodian people, who are weary of so many years of fratricidal conflict, have been made possible by the successful implementation of the peace process in Cambodia under the Paris Agreements and by the active role played by the United Nations. These events mark the triumphant conclusion of the United Nations operation in Cambodia, which was one of the largest operations in the history of the Organization. The mandate of the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC), which has now carried out the task - fraught with difficulties - of bringing a settlement to the prolonged civil war, has now been successfully discharged.

The Russian delegation would like to pay a special tribute to all those whose outstanding efforts helped the Cambodians realize their hope for a peaceful life, and here I have in mind the United Nations Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros-Ghali, his Special Representative, Mr. Yasushi Akashi, and all the personnel of the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia. It was their devotion and their determination to achieve the goals set, often at considerable risk to their own lives, that made it possible to conclude this decisive stage along the path towards consolidating the peace process in the country.

For its part, Russia participated directly in these efforts; we sent our representatives to the military and civilian components of UNTAC, and we also sent people for the electoral unit during the elections. The Russians did their work in a very responsible manner, and we feel justly proud of them.

These events in Cambodia were a major victory, not only for the Cambodian people and for the whole international community as represented by the United Nations, they were also a major victory

(Mr. Vorontsov, Russian Federation)

for democracy. We attach special significance to the fact that the Cambodians, with the help of the United Nations, were able to pave the way to peace and national concord in their country by means of the freest and most democratic method: the ballot box.

Russia, which itself is resolved to continue its democratic transformation by applying the fundamental principle of democracy, free elections, feels particularly close to the path the Cambodians have chosen and understands it well.

Now that the time has come for their country to return to normal life after the torment of many years of civil war, the Russian Federation, together with the other members of the international community, is willing to help the Cambodian people to rehabilitate their homeland, although we do realize that, in the final analysis, it is the people themselves who bear the responsibility for the future of Cambodia. We support the democratically elected Government of the Kingdom of Cambodia, and are willing to continue mutually beneficial cooperation in the interests of a renaissance of Cambodian society either through multilateral efforts in the United Nations or through bilateral channels.

The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Thailand, His Excellency Squadron Leader Prasong Soonsiri, who wishes to make a statement on behalf of the Foreign Ministers of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN).

I welcome the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Thailand, and invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. SOONSIRI (Thailand): Mr. President, first of all, allow me to express my sincere appreciation for the invitation to participate ir this meeting and to address this body in the presence of His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Ranariddh and His Excellency Mr. Hun Sen, the First and Second Prime Ministers of Cambodia, respectively.

May I also join the others who have spoken before me, Sir, in offering to you sincere congratulations upon your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of October. Our congratulations also go to Ambassador Adolfo Raúl Taylhardat, the Permanent Representative of Venezuela, who so ably guided the Council last month.

In addressing the Council this afternoon, I am speaking also in my capacity as Chairman of the Standing Committee of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN), which comprises Brunei Darussalam, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand.

Throughout the Cambodian conflict, ASEAN took an active role in achieving the peaceful settlement of that conflict. Indonesia, together with France, co-chaired the Paris Conference that culminated in the signing of the Paris Peace Agreements which formed the basis of the peace process in Cambodia. We, the members of ASEAN, warmly welcome the successful completion of UNTAC's mission in Cambodia. The implementation of the Paris Agreements, which began with the cease-fire, enabled the elections to be held in May, followed by the adoption of the Constitution. This process has culminated in the formation of the new Government under the leadership of His Majesty Samdech Preah Norodom Sihanouk, King of Cambodia.

(Mr. Soonsiri, Thailand)

We have listened with interest to and welcome the statement of His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Ranariddh, the First Prime Minister of Cambodia. We wish to express full support for the proposals put forward by him here - as well as at the General Assembly - on behalf of the Cambodian Government, which call, first, for the establishment of a United Nations Integrated Office in Phnom Penh; secondly, for the maintenance of representative offices of the United Nations Development Programme, the United Nations Children's Fund, the World Food Programme and other United Nations specialized agencies; thirdly, for the maintenance of the human rights component of the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) and its expansion into a permanent human rights centre; fourthly, for the continuation of the de-mining operations; and, fifthly, for the presence of a small number of military observers in Phnom Penh.

We also look forward to the appointment by the Secretary-General of a Special Representative in Cambodia. ASEAN is confident that a highly qualified person will be appointed, and we hope that he will be a person who is familiar with the issues involved and will be able to establish an excellent rapport with the Cambodian leaders and Government.

ASEAN is gratified to note that efforts to consolidate genuine national reconciliation continue. We note that there is already agreement for the convening of a round-table discussion between the Cambodians next month. The Cambodian Government has also expressed its readiness to welcome the Khmer Rouge within the Royal Army and within the Government as advisers.

(Mr. Soonsiri, Thailand)

ASEAN would like to pay a special tribute to the Secretary-General; to his Special Representative, Mr. Yasushi Akashi; to General John Sanderson, UNTAC Force Commander; and to the brave men and women of UNTAC for their dedication and tireless effort, which has culminated in the successful conclusion of their difficult mission. Here, may we offer our sincere condolences to the Governments and families of the UNTAC personnel who lost their lives in the service of peace.

The success of UNTAC, despite some inevitable mistakes and errors, is one in which the United Nations and the international community can rightly take pride. Many key lessons can be learned from UNTAC for future United Nations peace-keeping and peace-building operations.

In conclusion, ASEAN shares the hope and expectation of the Cambodian Government and people that the United Nations and the international community, through the International Committee on the Reconstruction of Cambodia (ICORC), will continue to assist the Cambodian nation in its reconstruction and rehabilitation. ASEAN and Thailand stand ready to contribute our share in such efforts. We believe that Cambodia, under the able leadership of His Majesty King Norodom Sihanouk, will finally take its rightful place in the South-East Asian region and contribute to bringing peace, stability and prosperity to our region.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Thailand for his statement and for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Australia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. BUTLER (Australia): This is an important occasion in the Security Council. The Council and the Secretary-General should be congratulated on the success of the operation of the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC), which gave effect to the Agreements on a comprehensive political settlement of the Cambodia conflict signed in Paris in October 1991. Those Agreements were a momentous achievement on which many countries had worked, and Australia is proud to have been among them.

The Agreements have brought enhanced stability to our region and have restored peace and sovereignty to a neighbouring people - people who, as the Australian Foreign Minister, Gareth Evans, said at the time of the signing of the Agreements,

> "have suffered beyond measure through more than 20 years of war, civil war and horrifying genocide. No people have been more deserving of peace and an opportunity to rebuild their nation."

Our heartfelt congratulations go to the Cambodian people who demonstrated - massively - courage and commitment to the democratic process. This was a vital element in the success of UNTAC. We acknowledge, too, their democratically elected leaders, whom we are honoured to have with us today, His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Ranariddh and His Excellency Mr. Hun Sen, respectively First and Second Prime Ministers of the Royal Government of Cambodia. And, of course, we pay a tribute to His Majesty King Norodom Sihanouk, whose wisdom, leadership and patriotism were and are of inestimable value.

I said a moment ago that the UNTAC operation gave effect to the Paris Agreements on Cambodia. In fact, that is not quite the whole reality. With the successful conclusion of UNTAC, a very large part of the Paris Agreements have been implemented. But the

(Mr. Butler, Australia)

Paris Agreements remain in force. They have the full support of this Council, as expressed in resolution 718 (1991); and the signatories, and the international community generally, remain committed to their continued implementation. Those Agreements continue to provide a rational framework for future international involvement in Cambodia.

I am sure Council members are familiar with the three principal areas of continuing international involvement in Cambodia, as highlighted in the Paris Agreements. They figured prominently in Prime Minister Ranariddh's historic address to the General Assembly yesterday. I would like to recall them.

First, given the tragic and massive human rights abuses to which the Cambodian people have been subjected and which, for many of us, are the essential backdrop and rationale for our commitment to the peace process, the Paris Agreements wisely foreshadow a role in Cambodia for the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, building on the admirable achievements of the human rights component of UNTAC.

Secondly, the Paris Agreements also contain a declaration on the rehabilitation and reconstruction of devastated Cambodia. Clearly, this is an essential and urgent task if the hard-won peace is to be consolidated and made durable. Australia welcomes the renewed assurances of international donor commitment to Cambodia given at the senior-officials meeting in Paris on 8 and 9 September of the International Committee on the Reconstruction of Cambodia, as well as the understanding evident in Prime Minister Ranariddh's statement yesterday of the need for Cambodia to establish appropriate aid-delivery mechanisms.

(Mr. Butler, Australia)

Finally, the third Paris Agreement commits both Cambodia and the international community to respect the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and inviolability, neutrality and national unity of Cambodia.

Australia looks forward to the next stage of the Council's consideration of the question of Cambodia. We believe strongly that if this accords with the wishes of the sovereign Government of Cambodia, the Council should adopt a resolution which would mark the conclusion of UNTAC in a manner appropriate to the scale of the operation and the significance of its achievements, and would then set the course for international involvement in the continuing implementation of the Paris Agreements in the post-UNTAC era. Such a resolution would be, we suggest, the most useful contribution this Council could now make to the formidable task of nation-building on which the new Cambodian State is now embarked.

The PRESIDENT: I shall now make a statement in my capacity as President of the Security Council, on behalf of the members of the Council:

"On behalf of the members of the Security Council, I wish to thank His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Ranariddh, First Prime Minister, and His Excellency Mr. Hun Sen, Second Prime Minister, of the Royal Government of Cambodia for their presence here and to express the satisfaction of the Security Council at the auspicious developments that have taken place in Cambodia since the holding of the elections of 23 to 28 May 1993, in particular the proclamation of the Cambodian Constitution on 24 September 1993 and the creation of the new government of Cambodia.

"I also take this opportunity to congratulate His Majesty King Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia, on his accession to the throne and to pay tribute to the continuing role played by His Majesty in the quest for national reconciliation and a better future for all Cambodians.

"In the light of the successful completion of the mandate of the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC), the Security Council reiterates its recognition at the remarkable work carried out by UNTAC, under the leadership of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, Mr. Yasushi Akashi.

"The Security Council stresses the importance of the continued support of the international community to the consolidation of peace and democracy and the promotion of development in Cambodia.

(The President)

"Taking into account the letter dated 26 September 1993 addressed to the Secretary-General by His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Ranariddh, First Prime Minister, and His Excellency Mr. Hun Sen, Second Prime Minister, and the further report of the Secretary-General on the implementation of Security Council resolution 745 (1992) which members of the Council have just received, the Council will continue to study the situation in Cambodia and will consider what action it should take."

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/26531.

There are no further names on the list of speakers for this meeting.

The next meeting of the Security Council to continue its consideration of the item on its agenda will be fixed in consultation with the members of the Council.

The meeting rose at 5.35 p.m.

UNITED
NATIONS

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Security Council

PROVISIONAL

S/PV.3288
5 October 1993

ENGLISH

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE THOUSAND
TWO HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-EIGHTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Tuesday, 5 October 1993, at 6.15 p.m.

President:	Mr. Sardenberg	(Brazil)
Members:	Cape Verde	Mr. BARBOSA
	China	Mr. LI Zhaoxing
	Djibouti	Mr. OLHAYE
	France	Mr. MERIMEE
	Hungary	Mr. ERDÖS
	Japan	Mr. MOTOMURA
	Morocco	Mr. SNOUSSI
	New Zealand	Mr. BOHEMEN
	Pakistan	Mr. MARKER
	Russian Federation	Mr. VORONTSOV
	Spain	Mr. de ZULUETA
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David HANNAY
	United States of America	Mr. WALKER
	Venezuela	Mr. BIVERO

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the Official Records of the Security Council.

Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, within one week, to the Chief, Official Records Editing Section, Office of Conference Services, room DC2-794, 2 United Nations Plaza, and incorporated in a copy of the record.

93-86764 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 6.45 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE SITUATION IN RWANDA

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ON RWANDA (S/26488 and Add.1)

The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Rwanda, in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Gasana (Rwanda) took a place at the Council table.

The PRESIDENT: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General on Rwanda, documents S/26488 and Add.1. Members of the Council also have before them document S/26519, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

The first speaker is the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation of Rwanda, His Excellency Mr. Anastase Gasana. I welcome His Excellency and invite him to address the Council.

Mr. GASANA (Rwanda) (interpretation from French): I wish on behalf of the Twandese Republic and the people of Rwanda to congratulate you sincerely, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for October. I am convinced that, thanks to your vast experience as an able diplomat, the work of the Council will be crowned with success under your leadership.

It gives me pleasure also to pay a well-deserved tribute to His Excellency the Permanent Representative of Venezuela, who guided the affairs of the Council last month with wisdom and skill.

(Mr. Gasana, Rwanda)

On the occasion of the Security Council's consideration of the agenda item devoted to the situation in my country, Rwanda, I should also like to express to the members of the Council the Rwandese people's thanks for their dedication and unswerving support for the peace process in Rwanda. We are also profoundly grateful to the United Nations Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, for the indefatigable efforts he has constantly exerted to achieve a definitive and lasting settlement to the war situation our country has been facing since 1 October 1990.

Today, I speak to all the members of the Council as head of a joint delegation that the two parties that only yesterday were locked in conflict have decided to send here to the United Nations Security Council to demonstrate their true interest in burying the hatchet of war once and for all, in reaching a negotiated settlement to the political problems underlying the war and in engaging, sincerely and unequivocally, in the process of peace and national reconciliation. The dynamic created by the Peace Agreement signed by the Government of Rwanda and the Rwandese Patriotic Front at Arusha, in the United Republic of Tanzania, on 4 August 1993 put an end to the war and provided the two parties with the appropriate framework for setting up transitional institutions designed to consolidate political pluralism and the ongoing democratic process in Rwanda.

The Rwandese people can never find sufficient words to thank all the countries and eminent personalities from all over the world that stood with the Government of Rwanda and the Rwandese Patriotic Front as they travelled the road of their peace negotiations. In this connection I have the honour to pay a special tribute to the

(Mr. Gasana, Rwanda)

United Nations and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and to their member States, especially those that agreed to act as observers at the Arusha negotiations - France, the United States of America, Germany and Belgium - as well as to the States that dispatched contingents to Rwanda in the context of the OAU Neutral Military Observer Group to encourage both sides to abide by the agreed-upon cease-fire. It is also my pleasant duty to pay a very special tribute to the Republic of Zaire and the United Republic of Tanzania, which generously agreed to act as mediators and facilitators at the beginning of the conflict and continued to do so down to the conclusion of the Peace Agreement. Our gratitude goes also to all the countries and international and non-governmental organizations that spared no effort to help Rwanda throughout the course of the war, particularly by furnishing humanitarian assistance to those displaced by the war.

We remain deeply obliged to the Security Council for the sustained attention it has constantly devoted to Rwanda. The many, diverse missions sent to Rwanda by the United Nations made it possible to identify the ways and means best suited to bringing the peace process to success, particularly after the dispatch of a neutral international force with the task of backing up the resolute determination of the United Nations to put into effect the Peace Agreement in Rwanda. In this connection, I should like to tell the Secretary-General of the United Nations that the people of Rwanda are deeply grateful for his concise and complete report, which covers all aspects of the situation in the country and establishes a solid foundation for the need to dispatch, a United Nations assistance mission to Rwanda. I am pleased to inform the Security Council that this report is perfectly acceptable to the

(Mr. Gasana, Rwanda)

Government of Rwanda and the Rwandese Patriotic Front. Hence, on their behalf, I ask the Council to be good enough to approve the report and follow up the recommendations in it with the urgency they deserve.

We Rwandans view the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda as a valuable tool for implementing the Peace Agreement for the two belligerent parties that were yesterday pitted against each other and are today represented here as part of a joint delegation. Basically, this Mission will serve as an arbiter and facilitator as we progress towards consolidating peace and achieving national reconciliation and democratization throughout the country.Like the OAU Neutral Military Observer Group, which that organization was good enough to dispatch to Rwanda to monitor the implementation of the cease-fire, the United Nations Assistance Mission will enjoy complete security. Thus, this United Nations operation guarantees the success of the procress set in train for our country by the Arusha Peace Agreement. It is fully in keeping with the expectations of the two parties.

I can therefore assure the Security Council that the Government of Rwanda and the Rwandese Patriotic Front will do all in their power to abide strictly by the Peace Agreement and to see to it that the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda will not encounter any problems.

My delegation has listened with care to the statements made in recent days by eminent world personalities from the rostrum of the General Assembly. The positions taken by various speakers with regard to peace-keeping operations throughout the world commanded our attention. We found them very encouraging, for the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda is precisely in line with the

(Mr. Gasana, Rwanda)

prevailing philosophy. The joint delegation of the Rwandese Government and the Rwandese Patriotic Front is not unaware of the financial constraints now facing the Organization and its Member States. We therefore subscribe to the approach recommended by the Secretary-General in his report to ensure the progressive deployment and withdrawal of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda.

On behalf of the Government of Rwanda and the Rwandese Patriotic Front, I thank the Security Council for the highly important decision it is about to take to consolidate peace in Rwanda by quickly deploying the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda. We express in advance our gratitude to all the Member States that will generously support the Organization to ensure the success of that Mission and thus enable Rwanda to regain the peace so necessary for the resumption of its development programmes.

With the Council's permission, we should like to emphasize that the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda should be in place as soon as possible, and we request that the deadlines set forth in the Secretary-General's report for its deployment be advanced.

(Mr. Gasana, Rwanda)

There are indeed a number of reasons why we consider this to be so urgent. We have two armies, involving some 5,000 men, until yesterday engaged in conflict, now face to face, under the cease-fire of course; but everything must be done to see to it that they are immediately disengaged and that this process will lead quickly to the establishment of a joint national army.

The political will demonstrated by the two parties which, yesterday, were at war, deserves the international community's support, which should facilitate the establishment of political institutions as envisaged in the peace agreement.

Nearly one million people displaced by war impatiently await the deployment of the United Nations mission so that they may return home safely before the next growing season, which begins soon, and so that the spectre of famine now hanging over them may be banished.

Hundreds of thousands of students have not been able to go to school for three years and are awaiting the restoration of conditions of security in the areas stricken by war so that they may be able to return to school without any danger. Many refugees from Rwanda around the world are also counting on the United Nations mission to guarantee the security they need for their return to their country. Finally, war has seriously ravaged the economy of Rwanda, and by re-establishing conditions of security the United Nations mission will further the recovery of our economy and will establish confidence in the countries of our sub-region, furthering the re-establishment of the regional economic aid programmes dislocated by war.

You will understand the importance of the political, military, humanitarian, economic and social missions that make the United

(Mr. Gasana, Rwanda)

Nations mission to Rwanda both necessary and urgent. We will continue to be grateful to you for the positive follow-up that we hope you will give to the recommendation by the Secretary-General of our Organization for the urgent dispatch to Rwanda of a United Nations assistance mission. Once again I reconfirm that the Rwandese Government and the Rwandese Patriotic Front, for which I have the honour of heading a mission, a joint delegation, will spare no pains to see to it that this will indeed be a successful mission.

Finally, I could not possibly complete my remarks without first, on behalf of the Rwandese people, and on behalf of the joint delegation I am heading, addressing a word of thanks and of profound gratitude to France, to the Government of France and to the Permanent Mission of France here at the United Nations for their having sponsored the draft resolution on Rwanda now before the Council for adoption at this evening's meeting.

All the Rwandese people, as beneficiaries of the important decision that you are about to take, of the important resolution you are about to adopt, this people of Rwanda will be forever grateful to you. I thank you.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation of Rwanda for his kind words addressed to me.

It is my understanding that the Security Council is ready to proceed to vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I shall now call upon those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. SNOUSSI (Morocco) (interpretation from French): It is a pleasure for me to extend to you, on behalf of the delegation of Morocco, my sincere congratulations on your election to the Presidency of the Security Council for the current month. I am convinced that your competence, your skill and your wisdom will guide us to certain success in our deliberations. I would like to assure you of the availability of my delegation to cooperate fully with you in order to guarantee the success of your task. I am also duty-bound to pay a tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Taylhardat, the Permanent Representative of Venezuela, for the excellent way in which he conducted our work during a particularly difficult and loaded month, that of September.

It is with deep interest that my delegation has considered the excellent report of the Secretary-General (S/26488) issued on 24 September. We fully subscribe to the relevant recommendations in that report, and especially those for establishing a peace-keeping force of the United Nations in Rwanda. We are deeply convinced, in fact, that the decision by the Security Council to launch this operation will on the one hand contribute to the establishment of an environment conducive to peace and a smoothly functioning transitional Government, as provided for in the Arusha Peace Agreement of 4 August; and will on the other hand help to implement the provisions of that agreement and the protocols attached to it.

My delegation is among those who feel that the Security Council must meet quickly in order to proceed to the launching of this operation jointly wished for by the parties involved. As the Secretary-General indicated in his report, we feel that any delay in establishing the transitional arrangements in Rwanda would jeopardize the peace process begun there and would annihilate all

(Mr. Snoussi, Morocco)

of the efforts made over so many months to come up with a solution to the crisis in Rwanda. We are therefore pleased to see that the Security Council, having realized the urgency of this situation, has decided to react quickly in order to avoid any possible regrettable occurrence. We would like in this connection to congratulate most wholeheartedly the two parties, which have demonstrated patience and maturity and have thus shown their sincere will to cooperate and their desire to achieve reconciliation.

Rwanda has suffered enough from the consequences of a fratricidal war which has devastated the country and reduced thousands of individuals to flight, famine and exile. My country, which has always advocated dialogue and the peaceful reconciliation of conflicts, can only express its pleasure at the positive developments in the political situation in Rwanda. We hope that we will see a successful outcome of the peace process that has begun, and that it will lead to the consolidation of democracy in that fraternal African country.

It is encouraging, furthermore, to see that, thanks to the initiative taken by the Secretary-General and to the efforts made by the international community, the humanitarian situation in Rwanda has improved considerably. The inter-agency appeal launched by the United Nations last April to bring international assistance to some 900,000 persons displaced by the war - 13 per cent of the Rwandan population - has led to tangible results: 600,000 refugees have now returned home following the signature by the parties, of the Agreement of 30 May 1993 concerning the return of displaced persons.

(Mr. Snoussi, Morocco)

Nevertheless, we should acknowledge that, despite the progress achieved, the humanitarian problem is far from being resolved. We feel, therefore, that humanitarian activities must be undertaken on a large scale in order to meet the immediate needs of the Rwandan people and most particularly of the 300,000 individuals who have not yet been rehabilitated.

The international community, moreover, must provide all necessary economic, financial and technical assistance to Rwanda to help this fraternal country to begin the reconstruction and rehabilitation work necessary to bring prosperity and peace to the Rwandan people.

Anxious to see Rwanda live in security and peace and overcome this terrible period of crisis that it has gone through, my delegation can only support the draft resolution in which we have participated actively, in the hope that the parties will respect it in good faith for the future good of their country.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Morocco for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. BARBOSA (Cape Verde) (interpretation from French): I greet most warmly His Excellency the Foreign Minister of Rwanda and thank him deeply for his contribution in the form of the statement he has just made before this Council.

Allow me first and foremost, Mr. President, to congratulate you most warmly on your noteworthy election to the presidency of the Security Council. Indeed, it is a source of deep satisfaction for my country to see Ambassador Ronaldo Mota Sardenberg - a skilled and experienced diplomat representing a country with which Cape Verde has very special ties based on common language, culture and history - presiding over the work of the Council this month.

I should like also to place on record our deepest appreciation for the efficacy displayed by Ambassador Adolfo Taylhardat of Venezuela in guiding our work last month, when he had just assumed his functions as Permanent Representative of his country to the United Nations and also at a time when we had to grapple with very difficult issues.

It is not every day that we have the opportunity to welcome here in the United Nations the official delegation of a country ravaged by a national conflict made up of those who only yesterday were pitted against each other in war. This bears eloquent witness not only to the dedication of both parties to finding a definitive solution to the conflict in Rwanda but also to the unshakeable determination of an entire people regarding the imperative need for United Nations forces in Rwanda in order to preserve the moment of confidence and optimism and for the peace plan to be implemented as quickly as possible. We therefore welcome this Council's ability once again to display keen awareness of the facts and to exercise the responsibilities assigned it by the United Nations Charter.

(Mr. Barbosa, Cape Verde)

By adopting the draft resolution before us, the Council will be lending its approval to the proposals contained in the Secretary-General's report (S/26488) of 24 September 1993, aiming at the phased implementation of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda. The proper and rapid implementation of this consensus draft resolution is, in our view, a sine qua non for the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda to carry out its work successfully in the context of the cease-fire; in terms of establishing various cantonment areas and areas where military personnel and weapons are to be gathered; in mine-clearing; in humanitarian aid; in the return of refugees and displaced persons; in disarmament and the demobilization of the armed forces; and, finally, in the restructuring of the Rwandese defence forces.

This decisive contribution of the United Nations to the resolution of the conflict unleashed in Rwanda is, at the same time, in the eyes of many - and especially the small countries - an assurance that now more than ever the United Nations is, during this turbulent phase of the transition to a new international order, the main instrument at the service of the peoples of the world in questions relating to the promotion and preservation of international peace and security.

We could not possibly overestimate the importance of international humanitarian assistance to this country, where, ever since hostilities broke out in 1991, more than a million people have found themselves refugees or displaced persons. Economic and social progress have been jeopardized, and vast numbers of mines have been scattered over the national soil.

We hope that the political will of the international community to help the Rwandese people, which is referred to in paragraph 17

(Mr. Barbosa, Cape Verde)

of the Secretary-General's report (S/26488), will be speedily translated into concrete acts of support for national reconstruction and that the international round table on aid to Rwanda will be held as envisaged at the beginning of 1994.

At the very moment when we are adopting this important draft resolution, we deem it timely to call to mind the history of the conflict in Rwanda and the process leading to its settlement in order to highlight the decisive role played then and still being played by the Organization of African Unity (OAS) and by Tanzania, a facilitator country. Indeed, the action of the OAU shows the importance of correctness of the Secretary-General's proposals in "An Agenda for Peace", dealing with the role of organizations and regional arrangements in the realm of conflict resolution in concert with the United Nations. For this reason, while appreciating the magnificent actions of the OAU in the service of the international community, we cannot but encourage it from this lofty forum to pursue its efforts along the same lines, to avail itself more and more of the help of the entire international community and to arm itself with more mechanisms and necessary means for the accomplishment of the noble task of preventing and resolving conflicts in Africa.

We should like to conclude by sending out an urgent appeal to the Rwandese parties to maintain in the future the same attitude they have displayed today, because with them lies the most important key to the resolution of the conflict in their country.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Cape Verde for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. OLHAYE (Djibouti): At the outset, Sir, I wish to congratulate you most warmly on your assumption of the presidency

(Mr. Olhaye, Djibouti)

of the Council for this month. Indeed, your intense probing, intellectual capacity and extensive experience will be of immense benefit to this Council.

I wish also to express our deep gratitude to Ambassador Taylhardat of Venezuela for his leadership of the Council during the past, important, month. We have all come to respect the high level of ability he has demonstrated.

I cannot fail to acknowledge the presence in our midst of the honourable Foreign Minister of Rwanda and the strong, joint delegation he is heading. We are very impressed by the way they have convincingly presented their case to us and for their perseverance in seeing this draft resolution become a reality before their departure for home.

My delegation would like to express its appreciation to the Secretary-General for his detailed and comprehensive report on the situation in Rwanda. It is evident that there is a genuine desire for peace on the part of the Government of Rwanda and the Rwandese Patriotic Front. The period of time during which they have negotiated together over the many aspects of the peace accord they have discussed and agreed upon bear witness to this. Hopefully, this will allow the United Nations to return to its classic role in peace-keeping, that of implementing an agreement desired and accepted by both parties. For this reason my delegation fully supports the draft resolution before us authorizing United Nations participation in this process. Hopefully, United Nations peace-keepers and monitors can be placed in a timely manner, the most urgent of which appears to be the termination of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) monitor's mandate on 31 October this year.

We should note with appreciation the constant supportive role played by the OAU, the Government of Tanzania as a facilitator and

(Mr. Olhaye, Djibouti)

the Government of France, to name only a few, towards the achievement of a meaningful political settlement in this terrible drama. The Secretary-General and his staff are to be praised for the way they have followed this event and the steps they have taken to bring the sides together with others to bring peace. It is another example of United Nations regional cooperation which should end on a positive note.

(Mr. Olhaye, Djibouti)

We have often expressed our deep concern at the situation in Rwanda and the violations of the Peace Agreement cease-fire stipulations. In addition to the mounting human toll and desperate refugee situation, there is also the fear that the impact of this conflict could become pervasive in the region, certainly with disastrous consequences for all.

While all these fears have abated for the moment, it is critical for all of us to seize this opportunity for peace as quickly as possible and begin the implementation process. The rival military elements must be separated and disarmed with all haste and reintegrated armed forces and police instituted in due course.

One of the aspects of the Secretary-General's report which deserves praise is the very logical way in which the activities of the United Nations have been considered and goals and timetables set. There seems to be general agreement that a transitional Government is needed to handle affairs until elections are arranged, and that none of this can take place without the presence of the United Nations. This again underscores the timeliness of this draft resolution and the need for us to be established in Rwanda as soon as possible.

My delegation also appreciates the emphasis placed in the report on the humanitarian situation and the return of nearly two thirds of the displaced persons to their homes. We cannot overemphasize the need to work out the dire refugee situation and we strongly commend the vital roles played by the United Nations Development Programme and the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

(Mr. Olhaye, Djibouti)

Finally, we note that the increasingly alarming problem of mines will be dealt with, as that seems to pose a serious threat to the civilian population. The call for continued support for Rwanda is therefore well taken. We support the present draft resolution calling for the creation of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda and the Secretary-General's desire to move as quickly as possible to be in place while the spirit of all involved is positive.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Djibouti for his kind words addressed to me.

The Council will now take a decision on the draft resolution contained in document S/26519.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Brazil, Cape Verde, China, Djibouti, France, Hungary, Japan, Morocco, New Zealand, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Venezuela

The PRESIDENT: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 872 (1993).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. MÉRIMÉE (France) (interpretation from French): My delegation welcomes the adoption of this resolution by our Council. In taking this step, the Council has met the expectations of Rwandans which have been repeatedly expressed to the United Nations through representatives of the Government and the Rwandese Patriotic Front and which were reiterated a moment ago by the Foreign Minister of Rwanda. We welcome his presence among us.

(Mr. Mérimée, France)

Moreover, in acting promptly the Security Council has made it possible to establish an element essential to the full implementation of the Arusha Peace Agreement signed on 4 August.

The United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) will make it possible truly to set in motion the peace process by installing in the Rwandese capital provisional institutions which will be able, in turn, to launch the process of economic reconstruction and organize the repatriation of many refugees and displaced persons. That is why the Secretary-General is authorized to deploy a contingent in Kigali as soon as possible. This deployment will then be followed by the dispatching to Rwanda of other elements to be put gradually into place.

However, in establishing this operation, the Security Council does not intend to wait passively for the peace process to conclude. Our Council clearly indicates that the United Nations does not intend to remain in Rwanda indefinitely. UNAMIR has in fact been set up with a specific deadline. Furthermore, our Council will soon be considering a report reviewing the implementation of the Arusha Peace Agreement, on which may hinge the successive deployments being foreseen.

These precautions amount to a number of elements that must prompt the Rwandese Government and the Patriotic Front to work together to restore peace to Rwanda after a conflict that, sadly, has had too many victims. The example they are setting - an all too rare example - of the coming together of two parties long opposed must lead our Council to recognize that this is a special case of United Nations intervention, in the success of which my country believes.

Sir David HANNAY (United Kingdom): My Government would like to congratulate the parties involved in concluding the Arusha Peace Agreement. We would also like to add our congratulations to the Government of the United Republic of Tanzania, which kept the parties talking even when it seemed unlikely that agreement could be reached. I think its role as a facilitator is one which the Council should recognize.

We regard the Arusha Peace Agreement as a good example of the way in which a regional organization can contribute to conflict resolution. In a sense, an African solution was found to an African problem. We would like to encourage regional organizations, and in particular the Organization of African Unity, to build on this experience in the spirit that was set out in the communiqué to the Cairo summit. It is important, in our view, that the Organization of African Unity should remain engaged in the implementation of this settlement.

We recognize that the roots of this dispute, which has caused so much damage and so much loss of life, go back many years. Ultimately, it is for the Rwandese themselves to bring about a solution and to create an atmosphere which will enable the safe return of the refugees from neighbouring countries and the resettlement of displaced persons within Rwanda. But it is of course right that the international community should help them in this task.

My Government attaches importance to the early logistical and administrative integration of the United Nations Observer Mission Uganda-Rwanda (UNOMUR) into the force now being set up in Rwanda. But I should make it clear that we regard that as without any prejudice to the continuing validity of the different mandates of these two forces, the mandate of UNOMUR being set out in resolution 846 (1993) and not changed in any way by this present resolution.

(Sir David Hannay, United Kingdom)

Peace agreements such as this are only a success if they are pursued in good faith and sincerity by all the parties involved. As recent events elsewhere have demonstrated, the United Nations cannot impose peace where there is no willingness to sustain compromise. It is therefore, in our view, essential that the parties continue to cooperate fully and stick firmly to the timetable that they have set for themselves for national reconciliation and elections.

Mr. WALKER (United States of America): Let me take this opportunity to congratulate both the Government of Rwanda and the Rwandese Patriotic Front for their successful efforts to negotiate a peace accord, which resulted in the signing of the Arusha Peace Agreement on 4 August, 1993. We congratulate the farsighted leaders of both parties who had the courage to put aside their differences and opt for peace over war. Also, we should commend both the Organization of African Unity and the Government of the United Republic of Tanzania for their roles in bringing the two parties together.

The resolution just adopted by the Security Council is another major step in resolving the conflict in Rwanda. We have every hope that our action today will reinforce peace - a crucial prerequisite which allows both parties to build on the trust they have created. We support the deployment of this force because it will advance the goals of peaceful conflict resolution and democratization, and allow the return of hundreds of thousands of those who have fled their homes. It is now up to the Rwandese themselves to ensure that the transition to democracy moves forward.

(Mr. Walker, United States)

As the Council knows, my Government is deeply concerned about the increasing burden - both in terms of manpower and financial resources - which the United Nations is being asked to shoulder. For that reason we are pleased to note that this resolution has a tightly focused mandate. This body's continued support will depend in large measure on the demonstration of substantive progress towards the implementation of the peace agreement and the establishment of transitional institutions in advance of national elections. My Government will continue to monitor and work to reduce costs and personnel levels throughout this peace-keeping operation, and we look forward to the report by the Secretary-General called for in the resolution on ways to reduce the levels of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) and to contain costs.

Now that the resolution has passed, let me stress the need for the United Nations and all member States to take prompt action to take advantage of the present climate of cooperation. Let us help Rwanda begin the process of disarmament and demobilization in order to allow Rwandans to rebuild their country and their livelihoods.

Mr. LI Zhaoxing (China)(interpretation from Chinese): The Chinese delegation welcomes the presence of the Foreign Minister of Rwanda at the Council meeting. We would also like to thank him for the important statement he has just made.

On 4 August this year the Government of Rwanda and the Rwandese Patriotic Front (RPF) signed in Arusha a peace agreement which has laid a solid foundation for ending the tragic war and restoring peace and stability in the country. This is the result of the joint efforts of the two Rwandese parties, the United Nations Secretary-General, the Organization of African Unity (OAU)

(Mr. Li Zhaoxing, China)

and Tanzania. For this we wish to express our welcome and appreciation.

At present, as the peace process in Rwanda has entered a crucial stage, the key to peace and stability in Rwanda lies in whether the two parties will fully cooperate with the United Nations and the OAU, adopt effective measures, overcome their difficulties, comprehensively implement the Arusha Peace Agreement and the relevant Security Council resolutions, and start forthwith the cantonment and demobilization of their troops so as to create the necessary conditions for the establishment of the transitional institutions and the holding of the general election on schedule.

At the repeated request of the two parties, the Secretary-General has recommended the establishment of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR). This will help the two parties build mutual trust and contribute to the realization of national reconciliation and lasting peace in the country.

The Chinese delegation supports the above-mentioned recommendation of the Secretary-General and voted in favour of the resolution the Council has just adopted.

Mr. MARKER (Pakistan): My delegation joins others in welcoming the Foreign Minister of Rwanda.

My delegation is also grateful to the Secretary-General for his most comprehensive and lucid report on Rwanda, which has served to considerably facilitate our deliberations on future United Nations involvement in that country.

We congratulate the Government of Rwanda and the Rwandese Patriotic Front (RPF) on the foresight they displayed in arriving at an Agreement in Arusha on 4 August.

(Mr. Marker, Pakistan)

There is no doubt that the people of Rwanda, its institutions and its infrastructure have suffered profoundly due to the political tussle and the resulting turmoil. According to the report of the Secretary-General, by March this year about 900,000 people, or approximately 13 per cent of the Rwandese population, had been displaced. This is a very high percentage by any standard. The good news is that around two thirds of the displaced persons have already returned to their homes, but this still leaves a significant number in refugee camps and in need of assistance.

We have been impressed by the determination and vigour with which the Government of Rwanda and the Rwandese Patriotic Front are pursuing the objective of national reconciliation and the establishment of a transitional mechanism that would lead to general elections and, hopefully, a democratically elected Government. This transformation in the Rwandese polity after years of tension and turmoil indeed augurs well for that country. We wish the people and the leaders of Rwanda every success in this regard.

The Secretary-General's proposal to establish a United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR), the concept of operations, the proposed force structure and the deployment schedule spelled out by him, are cogent and well-considered. In view of the keenness shown in this context by the Rwandese parties concerned, the Council's response could be none other than positive.

We also deeply appreciate the helpful role played by the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and its Secretary-General, as well as by the President of Tanzania, in bringing the situation in Rwanda to its present hopeful stage.

My delegation appeals to all concerned to operate strictly within the time-frame provided in the report of the Secretary-

(Mr. Marker, Pakistan)

General and the resolution just adopted. A sense of urgency should remain paramount.

Mr. VORONTSOV (Russian Federation)(interpretation from Russian): We also welcome the presence here at today's meeting of the Foreign Minister of Rwanda.

Russia welcomed the signing on 4 August this year of the Arusha Peace Agreement, as it demonstrated the ability of the regional machinery of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) to unravel the intricate knots of conflict on the African continent by political methods.

The Russian delegation believes that the establishment, in accordance with the resolution the Security Council has just adopted, of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) should promote effective compliance with the terms of the Peace Agreement by the Rwanda sides. It should help to resolve this long-drawn-out conflict and restore peace and stability.

Russia has consistently advocated, and continues to advocate both here in the Security Council and elsewhere, the pooling of United Nations efforts and the efforts of regional organizations in the resolution of conflicts. In that connection, we believe that the experience of effective interaction between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity in the Rwanda settlement could also be utilized in other areas of the world where there are hotbeds of tension that require determined intervention by the international community.

Russia for its part is also prepared in future, together with the international community, to support United Nations efforts and efforts of regional organizations aimed at seeking peaceful ways to resolve military conflicts and crises.

The PRESIDENT: I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the representative of Brazil.

The signing of the Arusha Peace Agreement and its protocols by the Government of Rwanda and the Rwandese Patriotic Front (RPF) was a most welcome and encouraging development. It brought with it the promise of a lasting peace and national reconciliation for the people of Rwanda. It opened the way for a definitive solution of serious humanitarian problems resulting from the conflict, including the return and resettlement of the hundreds of thousands of Rwandese refugees and displaced persons.

Brazil values the efforts made by African States, and most particularly by Tanzania, in facilitating and promoting the negotiations that led to that significant achievement. The role of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in strengthening the peace process and in contributing to the implementation of the Arusha Agreement will continue to be extremely important.

(The President)

Aware of the pressing tasks of peace and reconstruction in Rwanda, we examined the recommendation submitted by the Secretary-General in his report (S/26488), for which we are thankful, in particular the recommendation for the establishment of a new peace-keeping mission to assist in implementation of the Arusha Peace Agreement.

The two Rwandese parties agreed to call for the assistance of a neutral international force, to be deployed in Rwanda. The Brazilian Government is convinced that the presence in that country of neutral troops on the basis of a multilaterally established mandate could indeed be of assistance by contributing to greater security, especially in the city of Kigali, by monitoring the cease-fire and by promoting compliance with the provisions of the Peace Agreement. Brazil therefore supports the proposal of sending to Rwanda a peace-keeping mission, as proposed by the Secretary-General.

The mandate of the mission is set out in the resolution we have just adopted. It is clear and it is realistic. It has, we believe, the elements necessary for success. The participation in our deliberations of representatives of the joint Rwandese delegation, led by the Foreign Minister of Rwanda himself, is a clear sign of the willingness of both parties to work towards peace, and it reassures the United Nations that the two parties are committed to the concepts of disarmament, demobilization and reconciliation that form the framework for building a peaceful and prosperous future for the Rwandese people.

The Brazilian Government lends its support to their joint endeavours, and we strongly encourage them to continue to work hard to put into effect the provisions of the Peace Agreement. We look

(The President)

forward to a successful and undelayed conclusion of the peace process with the holding of national elections and the ensuing installation of the new Government in 1995.

The conflict in Rwanda has lasted for too long, as all conflicts do. As all conflicts do, it leaves behind a trail of humanitarian and economic problems that will no doubt pose a difficult challenge to the Rwandese people. We trust that by placing all their hopes in the construction of peace and by building an ever-broader basis of confidence and reconciliation, the people of Rwanda, with appropriate assistance by the international community, will soon succeed in their effort. The new world that they are building will, we trust, prove to be one that is irreversibly oriented towards a future of peace and development.

I now resume my functions as President of the Security Council.

There are no further speakers inscribed on my list.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The meeting rose at 7.45 p.m.